

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 H-02 SSO-00 CCO-00 /030 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:HEKIRBY:JF

APPROVED BY S:JBREMER

EUR:AAHARTMAN

S/S -CABORG

EUR/SE:NCLEDSKY

H - RFLATEN (INFO)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

SECRET STATE 158122 TOSEC 050133

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), TU

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM - PROPOSED DISCUSSION WITH  
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER (S/S 7513455)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

### 1. THE PROBLEM.

TURKISH DIPLOMATIC NOTE OF JUNE 17, TO WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET  
REPLIED ORALLY OR IN WRITING, REQUESTED COMMENCEMENT OF NEGO-  
TIATIONS ON US FACILITIES WITHIN 30 DAYS. I THINK IT IMPOR-  
TANT THAT OUR CHARGE IN ANKARA, BE INSTRUCTED TO SEE CAGLAY-  
ANGIL WITHIN NEXT DAY OR TWO WITH ORAL MESSAGE FROM YOU  
DESIGNED TO: (A) SUMMARIZE ADMINISTRATION'S CURRENT EFFORT  
ON HILL TO LIFT EMBARGO, AND PROVIDE SOME ESTIMATE OF PROS-  
PECTS; (B) COUNSEL CONTINUED TURKISH RESTRAINT VIS-A-VIS  
US FACILITIES WHILE HILL ACTION IS UNFOLDING; (C) INDICATE  
THAT US IS PREPARED TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH TURKS JULY 17  
OR ON WHATEVER DATE THEREAFTER THEY FIND CONVENIENT; (D)  
SMOKE CAGLAYANGIL OUT ON LEVEL AND SCOPE OF NEGOTIATIONS AS  
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ENVISAGED BY TURKS; AND (E) COUNSEL MODERATION IN CYPRUS

(E.G. -- AS REGARDS DISPLACEMENT OF GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM KARPASS AREA).

DISCUSSION OF THIS KIND COULD BE HELPFUL IN CONNECTION WITH OUR HILL STRATEGY NEXT WEEK. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, IT MIGHT BUY US TIME WITH THE TURKS IN KEEPING THEM FROM TAKING DECISIONS OR ACTIONS PRIOR TO THE JULY 17 DATE THEY HAVE SET AS TIME WHEN "PROVISIONAL STATUS" AFFECTING OUR FACILITIES IS TO GO INTO EFFECT.

2. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ATTACHED DRAFT FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE CHARGE IN ANKARA.

APPROVE -- DISAPPROVE

3. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT MESSAGE TO CHARGE:

FOR CHARGE FROM THE SECRETARY

YOU SHOULD REQUEST IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT WITH FONMIN TO DELIVER ORAL MESSAGE FROM ME ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

(A) I WANT TO REPORT TO YOU ON OUR EFFORTS WITH THE CONGRESS TO DEVELOP LEGISLATION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AND HELP PRESERVE OUR VITAL MUTUAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. LAST WEEK THE PRESIDENT AND I HAD EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH KEY MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REGARDING THE NECESSITY FOR IMMEDIATE LEGISLATIVE ACTION WHEN CONGRESS RETURNS FROM RECESS ON JULY 8. THE PRESIDENT AND I WILL ALSO PERSONALLY DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITH MORE THAN 100 CONGRESSMEN ON JULY 9.

WE PRESENTLY EXPECT COMMITTEE HEARINGS TO BEGIN NEXT WEEK SO THAT A BILL ON TURKISH ASSISTANCE CAN BE REPORTED OUT TO THE FULL HOUSE BY MID-JULY. WHILE I DO NOT KNOW WHAT FORM THE HOUSE LEGISLATION WILL TAKE, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT IS SHIFTING TOWARD RESTORATION OF AID, AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS

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WILL FINALLY PREVAIL.

(B) WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY EXTENT TO WHICH GOT, DESPITE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRITICISM, HAS SHOWN MODERATION AND RESTRAINT IN FACE OF EMBARGO. WHILE RECOGNIZING PRESSURES GOVERNMENT IS UNDER, WE SINCERELY HOPE TURKISH LEADERSHIP WILL CONTINUE MODERATE APPROACH, AVOIDING ANY IRREVERSIBLE ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN

OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE CONGRESS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, AND WHICH COULD IRREPARABLY DAMAGE BASIC SECURITY RELATIONSHIP SO VITAL TO BOTH COUNTRIES. THIS SAME MODERATION IS EQUALLY DESIRABLE WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS. IT IS VITAL THAT UNILATERAL ACTIONS WHICH COULD MAKE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT MORE DIFFICULT BE AVOIDED, PARTICULARLY DURING THIS PERIOD OF OUR MAXIMUM EFFORT WITH CONGRESS.

(C) SINCE GOT IN DIPLOMATIC NOTE OF JUNE 17 REQUESTED NEGOTIATIONS TO EXAMINE LEGAL BASIS FOR US FACILITIES IN TURKEY, WE ARE PREPARED TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON OR BEFORE JULY 17 OR ANY DATE THEREAFTER ACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY. TO HELP US PREPARE FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS, IT

WOULD BE HELPFUL IF FONMIN COULD GIVE US NOW AS PRECISE AN INDICATION AS POSSIBLE OF LEVEL AND SCOPE OF NEGOTIATIONS AS ENVISAGED BY GOT. IT WOULD ALSO HELP US TO KNOW WHAT FONMIN HAD IN MIND WHEN HE EARLIER REFERRED TO "PROVISIONAL STATUS" FOR US FACILITIES BEGINNING JULY 17. AS FONMIN KNOWS, WE CONSIDER ALL COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY TO RELATE DIRECTLY TO NATO DEFENSE, AND IT IS OUR EARNEST HOPE GOT WILL DO NOTHING TO ATTENUATE MISSION AND ACTIVITIES OF THOSE FACILITIES. END TEXT.

IF CAGLAYANGIL PROVES WILLING TO DISCUSS GOT'S EXPECTATIONS AND INTENTIONS REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS (PARA C ABOVE) YOU SHOULD DISCREETLY TRY TO LEAD HIM INTO AS MUCH SPECIFICITY AS YOU FEEL YOU CAN.

YOU SHOULD ALSO ADVISE CAGLAYANGIL THAT AMBASSADOR MACOMBER WILL BE RETURNING TO TURKEY ON OR ABOUT 10 JULY WITH A FURTHER REPORT ON ACTIVITY IN THE CONGRESS WITH RESPECT TO TURKISH AID. THE AMBASSADOR WILL ALSO BE AUTHORIZED TO

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CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF THE STATUS OF US FACILITIES PENDING THE INITIATION OF WHATEVER BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE AGREED UPON. END MESSAGE. INGERSOLL

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